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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to supply data on the characteristics of young adult Chicanos compared with their Anglo peers. A stratified random sample of undergraduate Mexican-American (N=153) and Anglo (N=148) students was taken at the University of Texas, El Paso, where one third of the students enrolled have a Spanish surname. A self-devised Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire was administered to all 301 students; extensive oral and written bilingual tests were administered to 10% of the total sample. The two groups differed significantly in socioeconomic status. The Chicanos were lower in fathers' income and hourly wages (students') and had a heavier burden of self-paid university expenses. Other divergences, varying in degree of significance, were also shown. It was found that English performance correlated strongly with both Spanish performance and grade point average. Unlike studies made elsewhere, the Mexican-American students revealed high loyalty to the Spanish language and to Mexican-American culture. Chicano students, most of whose schooling had been in English, rated significantly higher in both oral and written English skills than in Spanish. They showed less confidence in both their English and Spanish skills than did their Anglo counterparts--a fact probably contributing, with the less favorable factors, to poorer self-image. This negativism was further compounded by language attitudes: Chicanos assigned relatively low status to Southwest Spanish varieties. Analogies between Mexican-American and Third World youth are emphasized, possibly opening up a new avenue of research regarding minorities everywhere. (Author/AMH)

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BILINGUALISM/BICULTURALISM VIEWED IN THE LIGHT OF SOCIO-EDUCATIONAL CORRELATES

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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(It would be appreciated if you would correspond with either of the authors regarding errors found in the manuscript or suggestions for improvements.)

I. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

The University of Texas at El Paso apparently has the largest percentage of Mexican-American student enrollment of any senior institution in our fifty states, and is unquestionably the most highly bilingual/bicultural. The investigation to be described represents an attempt to supply much needed data on the comparative characteristics of young adult Chicanos (to be used interchangeably henceforth with Mexican-Americans) and their Anglo peers (henceforth, any non-Chicano). It is not always realized that Mexican-Americans, some 7 to 9 million in all, constitute the nation's second largest minority after the Blacks, and like the latter, are most likely to belong to lower socio-economic classes.

A search of the literature reveals extremely few research projects concerned with the behavior and attitudes of Mexican-American college students. As is noted elsewhere in this study, the bulk of the research is concerned with public school youngsters, mostly of earlier ages. Nevertheless, the need remains great, given the importance of higher education in the vocational and social welfare of minority groups.

Accordingly, The Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center (SWESC) has, ever since its creation under a Spencer Foundation grant, attempted to remedy the above lack to the extent of its abilities and resources. It is being sought to build up a "data bank" in a number of disciplines cognate to the educational process. Among these are, of course, linguists and related communication fields. Our essay is based mostly on the work of the project on Sociolinguistic Studies on Southwest Bilingualism (SSSB), initiated in 1968.

It needs to be noted further that our survey has been taking place in El Paso, the largest metropolitan city on the U.S.-Mexico border, with a U.S. population in 1971 of some 370,000 persons. Approximately 50% of this population is Spanish surnamed and the enrollment of such students at our University in the year when our investigation was initiated, amounted to 30.1 percent.

The procedure followed aimed at securing a statified random sample of all full-time, unmarried students from our undergraduate school population. A sample of 301 subjects was obtained, consisting of 148 Anglo and 153 Mexican-American student respondents, constituting almost 5 percent of the population described. The categories used for statification were Mexican-American vs. Anglo, sex, academic class (first year, etc.), and School of enrollment (Liberal Arts, Education, etc.) comprising some sixteen in all. Students were selected randomly within each of the categories and contacted by telephone by bilingual peers employed by our project. To all of these our Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire (Brooks, Brooks, Goodman, and Ornstein, 1972) was administered, as well as a College and University Environment Scales (CUES) test (Pace, 1969), aimed at probing their attitudes toward this particular institution. Results from the latter instrument are discussed elsewhere (Murray, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c) and will be excluded from consideration in this particular paper. In addition, a ten percent sub-sample was taken of the over-all sample, limited to Chicanos, who were then subjected to extensive linguistic elicitation. The purpose of this was to ascertain their fluency in Spanish and English respectively, and, with the help of answers from the Questionnaire to probe their attitude regarding regional language varieties, particularly their own.

Many investigators feel that the bilingual/bicultural context of our study lends itself to comparisons with the situation in emergent nations or the Third World. A point in support of this is that a number of the more militant ethnic movements, Black, American Indian, as well as Chicano, in their thinking and declarations disassociate themselves from the "Superpowers", preferring to align themselves with Third World forces, and indeed do participate actively in their symposia and conferences. In a volume written at this very University and titled Chicanos and Native Americans: Territorial Minorities (De La Garza, Kruszewski and Arciniega, 1973: 97) some of these issues are touched upon:

> The pattern of political behavior of Chicanos and Native Americans within the U.S. political system has characteristics peculiar to these two minorities that set them apart from other American ethnic groups. They are the only minority societies that came into the U.S. nation-state as a result of expansion and territorial conquest...Chicanos and Native Americans, unlike any American immigrant minority or even the Blacks (who were carried or induced away from their land, property and sociopolitical institutions), have characteristics of a territorial minority. That concept is generally alien to the American political experience, but very familiar in the European Asian, and African political scene of shifting borders, expanding politics, and consequent change in sovereignty over conquered territories and people.

At any rate, in the case of Mexican-Americans, many of them, particularly activists, often express themselves again "dominant" by the Anglo language, culture and power structure. Only since World War II, and especially the past 15 years have the, however, begun to challenge such "dominance" actively. Nowhere has the struggle been fiercer than in the educational sector. Recent history here records that a few years ago Chicanos revised dominance patterns election of all Chicano civic administration as well as school board (Crystal City, Texas). In the El Paso area, the Ysleta Independent School District has reflected constant turmoil

since the suspension in the fall of 1973 of a group of Chicano activists (some since reinstated). Among their demands were increased recognition of Mexican-American language and culture, as well as culture-fair tests which would discriminate against them. Charles A. Ferguson and Anwar Dil observe in "Language Universals of National Development" (1973):

> "In some nations of Europe and the Americans new forces of ethnicity and new demands of linguistically identified groups are posing severe problems, not only in countries such as Belgium, Canada and Yugoslavia where the tensions have long been recognized, but also in nations such as Great Britain, Spain and the United States where questions were generally assumed to be very minor."

As we have noted, Spanish-speakers constitute the largest foreign language or bilingual minority in the U.S. It would thus seem that our intention to undertake a systematic study of how socio-educational factors may correlate with bilingual/bicultural status of Mexican-Americans appears overdue. Moreover, analogies with emergent nations may be more rewarding than apparent at first blush. Suffice it to say that certain extremist factions of Chicanos (as well as Black and Native American) movements even envision breaking off from United States of America--much as the Parti Indépendant Québecois is committed to an independent Quebec in Canada. Unfortunately sociolinguistic research on Spanish-English bilinguals/biculturals has focussed almost exclusively on young children, because of the concentration of Government funds in this area.

At any rate, one great disparity between dominant or "mainstream" and subordinate, or minority "non-mainstream" groups is precisely in the realm of socio-economic status (henceforth, SES). It is only one step from that to state that nowhere better than in the differentiated markers of language is the distance between groups manifested, hence the advantage of studying such problems from a

bidimensional socio-linguistic viewpoint. We are taking the liberty of assuming here that readers are familiar at least with the basic notions and bibliography of sociolinguistics as well as writings by such workers as Dell Hymes, John J. Gumperz, Joshua Fishman, Susan Ervin-Tripp, William Labov, Roger Shuy, Ralph Fasold, Walter Wolfram, as well as Basil Bernstein in England, William F. Mackey in Canada, and others elsewhere. This would leave us free to concentrate on findings in the much less known field of Mexican-American sociolinguistics and the work of our "team."

At any rate, it is a truism that minority groups, in line with the Orwelliam "less equal" concept, tend to fall into the lower SES, while dominant ones, be they numerically superior or not, correspond to the upper ones. A concomitant or correlate of such status is a low-prestige or badly stigmatized language variety, such as Black English of the ghettoes, or the Southwest dialect of Spanish, often referred to pejoratively as "Tex-Mex", "Border Lingo" and even less flattering terms.

Having briefly described the context in which we are working, it is time to proceed to specifics. Our points will generally be supported by charts detailing our findings.

II. SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

In this paper, we are, of course, dealing with a population also differentiated by the fact that both through their Spanish and English they are immediately recognizable as Mexican-Americans utilizing as they do a highly interferential variety of Spanish, and of English. To a large extent then they are speakers of "bilingual" or "contactual dialects" (Haugen, 1969, 1971). Our essay, of course, can only begin to touch upon the intricate web of relationships existing between language, culture and social factors.

SES was sought in our study both as a correlate of language use and as a possible indicator of the extent to which young Mexican-Americans are indeed utilizing the University as a means of achieving upward social mobility. Our procedure was to derive the SES of each student from his father's occupation and education.

An eight-point occupational scale was devised, based on Duncan's Socio-Economic Index Scores for occupation. This scale score was added to an 8 point revised, reverse Hollingshead and Redlich educational attainment scale. The two scale scores were added together and from this a student's socio-economic class was determined. (See Table I.) Goodman explains his methodology in full elsewhere (1970).

TABLE I
SCALE SCORES FOR EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION

Scale Score	Education (Revised Hollingshead)	Occupation (Duncan SEI)
8	Ph.D. or Equivalent	100-90
7	Post Graduate (MA)	89-80
6	College Graduate	79-70
5	Some College	69-60
4	High School Graduate	59-50
3	Some High School	49-40
2	Elementary School (7-8)	39-30
1	Elementary School (1-6_	29-0

One may see from our data that the University is serving as an instrument for social mobility that is part of this country's dream. Sixty-two percent of our students come from families of the lower-middle class, upper-lower class or lower-lower class. However, whereas only fifty-one percent of the Anglos came from these three

lower-class groups. SES difference between these two groups was significant at the .001 level of confidence. (See Table II). Actually, although providing chances for upward social mobility for both Anglos and Chicanos, more of the latter are using the University for this purpose. Here, again, there may be a good analogy as regards the function of school in upward vocational and social mobility by both bilingual minorities in older sovereign states and by lower status groups in ex-colonial emergent lands.

TABLE II

SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF A SAMPLE OF U-T EL PASO STUDENTS BY ETHNICITY, 1969-1970

Social Class	Anglos		Mexican Americans		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Lower-Lower	1	1%	31	24%	32	12%
Upper-Lower	24	18%	48	37%	72	28%
Lower-Middle	41	32%	36	28%	77	30%
Upper-Middle	48	37%	12	9%	60	23%
Lower-Upper	15	12%	3	2%	18	7%
Total Reporting	129	100%	130	100%	259	100%
(Social Class Not Reported)	19		23		42	
Total in Sample	148		153		301	

$p < .001$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

Proceeding futher, it is not surprising to discover that there is a statistically significant difference between Mexican-American students in regard to father's yearly salary, university expenses borne by the students and the numbers of siblings in students' families. Here we are definitely in the presence of factors, particularly culturo-linguistic ones, perhaps also faced by emergent and Third World youth. The difficulty is, however, that their

various dimensions may be so intertwined that they become difficult or impossible to isolate.

At any rate, such differentiations are clearly a function of SES differences between our Mexican-American and Anglo sample. We know from Table II that a larger number of Mexican-American students come from lower class and lower-middle class homes than did their Anglo peers. Bilinguals in our Southwest somewhat reflect inferior socio-economic status to the social and administrative elite or the dominant "ethnic" group, similar to Third World cases. In point would be Galla or Sidomo youth vis à vis their Amhara peers in Ethiopia, or Sinhalese vis à vis Tamil in Ceylon. The differences in father's yearly salary, expenses borne by students and siblings per family clearly reflect these SES differences. In short, since more Mexican-American students have lower class backgrounds, a larger number also have fathers who have lower yearly salaries, so that more of them are paying their own way through the University. In addition a larger proportion come from families with great numbers of children.

TABLE III

FATHER'S YEARLY SALARY

Salary Range	Anglos No.	Anglos %	Mexican-Americans No.	Mexican-Americans %	Total No.	Total %
Less than $3,000	1	1%	3	3%	4	2%
$3,000 to $4,999	0	0%	12	11%	12	6%
$5,000 to $6,999	15	15%	32	28%	47	22%
$7,000 to $8.999	9	9%	30	27%	39	18%
$9,000 to $10,000	22	23%	18	16%	40	19%
$11,000 to $14,999	22	23%	10	9%	32	15%
$15,000 to $19,999	14	14%	4	3%	18	9%
$20,000 to $24,999	9	9%	1	1%	10	5%
$25,000 to $29,999	1	1%	0	0%	1	1%
$30,00+	5	5%	2	2%	7	3%
Totals	98	100%	112	100%	210	100%

p .001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

As regards support of their University education, it was found that a larger proportion of Chicanos worked to defray their own expenses. Far more Anglos than Mexican-American Students indicated they assumed none of their own university expenses (38 percent to 18 percent) (See Table IV). We also discovered that more Mexican-American students than Anglo students received work study assistance and G.I. Bill (military veteran) benefits.

TABLE IV
FINANCING OF SCHOOL EXPENSES

Financial Aid Category	Anglos No. (N=148)	Anglos % of all Anglos	Mexican-Americans No. (N=153)	Mexican-Americans % of all M/A's	Total all S's No. (N=301)	Total % of all S's
No Costs Assumed by Students*	56	38%	28	18%	84	28%
G.I. BILL BENEFITS**	4	3%	19	12%	23	8%
Work-Study Assistance	6	4%	19	12%	25	88%

*p .0001
**p .0001
***p .0001

Almost any study of family size reveals that lower social classes tend to have many more children than middle or upper social classes (Pitts, 1964:100-101). In our study Mexican-American students had more siblings than their Anglo counterparts (Table V). The religious factor may help explain this difference since most Mexican-American students are of the Roman Catholic faith which has not yet accepted birth control. Once more it is almost a demographic axiom that "minority" groups in almost any country rear larger families than do the "dominant" power-holding group. For example, in Canada the French-speaking traditionally are characterized by a substantially larger number of offspring. However there are studies

However there are studies that indicate that certain Catholic families tend to have the same family size as do Protestant families. (Martinson: 1970-136). It is therefore safe to assume that the sibling differences in at least our study are due to SES differences rather than religious factors.

TABLE V

NUMBER OF SIBLINGS OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS BY ETHNICITY

Number of Siblings	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0	13	9%	5	3%	18	6%
1	33	22%	16	11%	49	16%
2	43	29%	26	17%	69	23%
3	29	20%	33	22%	62	21%
4	12	8	19	12%	31	10%
5	9	6%	24	16%	33	11%
6	0	0%	8	5%	8	3%
7	4	3%	9	6%	13	4%
8+	5	3%	12	8%	17	6%
Totals	148	100%	152	100%	300	100%

p .001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

As noted before a very high proportion of students attending our University are employed. Further it was disovered that on the whole the Anglo students receive better hourly wages than do their Mexican-American peers. Whether this is due to skill differences, discrimination, or other factors is yet to be determined. Nevertheless, since it is hard to imagine that University undergraduate students possess substantial differences in skills or ability, the most likely explanation seems to be based on ethnic prejudice or SES disadvantage. Along with this, there is no question but that Anglo students simply have superior social contacts, which are less likely to be possessed by Chicanos and which would yield access to better job opportunities in the community.

TABLE VI

HOURLY WAGES PAID TO STUDENTS

Hourly Wages	Anglos		Mexican-Americans		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
$0.99 or below	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
$1.00 to $1.59	10	16%	25	34%	35	26%
$1.60	13	21%	19	26%	32	24%
$1.61 to $1.74	1	2%	2	3%	3	2%
$1.75 to $1.99	13	21%	9	13%	22	16%
$2.00 to $2.49	10	16%	8	11%	18	13%
$2.50 to $3.99	12	19%	7	10%	19	14%
$4.00 to $4.49	0	0%	1	1%	1	1%
$4.50 to $4.99	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
$5.00+	3	5%	1	1%	4	3%
Totals	62	100%	75	100%	135	100%

$p < .01$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

III. LANGUAGE DIMENSIONS

Our discussion thus far has centered upon some differences between Anglo and Chicano students, mostly atributable to SES distinctions. Not it is time to focus upon linguistic factors. At this point we have a sub-sample of 30, whose language performance in both English and Spanish was measured. Next we surveyed the entire bilingual group (N 151) of the overall sample in order to ascertain how language usage and loyalty was related to social class. In addition to that the entire sample (301) was canvassed for a comparison of language attitudes of Chicano and Anglo students.

The number of our subsample was 30, selected at random from the over-all sample, similarly stratified, making up 10 percent of these or 20 percent of the Mexican-American student sample. These bilinguals, therefore, were subjected to our complete battery, including Sociolinguistic Background Questionnaire, the CUES test, and our optional part B of the Questionnaire. The latter consists of three sets of topics in Spanish and English respectively (with bilingual instructions) from which students were asked to choose identical themes in both languages to write compositions. They were thus induced to function at the highest level of their performance level. In addition, the same three sets of identical questions, or similar ones were used by peer interviewers in an open-ended interview in both languages, lasting from 30 minutes to an entire hour. A panel of three independent judges, themselves bilingual, were asked to rate the oral and written output of each student and the distribution of results are presented in Table VII.

TABLE VII

(N=30)

Part A Distribution of Oral and Written Scores

	SPANISH		ENGLISH		COMBINED SCORES	
SCALE	ORAL	WRITTEN	ORAL	WRITTEN	SP.	ENG.
1.0-1.9		1				
2.0-2.9	10	13		1	13	1
3.0-3.9	15	15	17	20	16	21
4.0-4.9	-	-	-	-	-	-
5.0	5	1	13	9	1	8
	30	30	30	30	30	30

It should not surprise linguists to note that Spanish performance was in general appreciably lower than was the case in English. Nevertheless, scores in both languages were clustered at well above the intermediate level and indeed between 3.0 and 3.9 on a 5-point scale. In the Southwest, and in most multilingual areas, there is, of course, a complementary distribution of Spanish vs. English of the respective language pair in the various domains of living, with English generally reserved for the formal ones. Obviously this does not make for "balance bilingualism" but sociolinguistic facts remain what they are. The poorer overall performance in Spanish of our subsample may be because the majority of the students had had the lion's share of their schooling in English as the language of instruction (bilingual schooling is only now beginning to make many inroads). In the formal domains of living, moreover, their experience had been in English, not Spanish. Another notworthy fact beyond this is that the three-member panel of independent judges may have leaned in the direction of severity in their Spanish ratings.

We were obviously interested in discovering how language performance ratings correlated with other kinds of scholastic performance. (Table VIII) A glance of the table indicates that the only correlations significant at the .05 level of confidence were English performance and Spanish performance and English performance and (GPA) grade point average. SAT verbal was not correlated with any of our other variables and this is possibly because the English language performance may well be a result of college English education, which is linked to GPA and Spanish language performance At any rate, however inexplicable, these are some findings in our sub-sample.

TABLE VIII

CORRELATION OF SPANISH AND ENGLISH PERFORMANCE AND OTHER VARIABLES

	N	Spanish Performance	English Performance
Spanish Performance	30	----------	0.4351
English Performance	30	0.4351	------
Grade Point Average	29	0.1201*	0.4992
SAT Verbal	26	-0.3724*	0.359*
SAT Math	26	-0.1182*	0.0005*

*Not significant at .05 level of confidence

One of the most important dimensions of language in a complex national state is language loyalty and language usage. This has been especially true in the United States where the use of English and the abandonment of a foreign language were almost the required passport to middle class American respectability. Americans may admire people who are multilingual but the general attitude has been that one of these language must be English, and a native speaking quality of English at that. As the social commentator Will Herberg (1960:29) said:

> As the second generation prospered economically and culturally, and moved upward in the social scale, assimilation was speeded; the speeding of assimilation stimulated and quickened the upward movement. First to go was the foreign language with the manifest symbol of foreigners and a great impediment to advancement.

The most comprehensive and up-to-date material on this question, however, may be seen in Joshua Fishman's monumental Language Loyalty in the United States (1966), and other writings by this scholar.

A section of our questionnaire deal with this very question of language loyalty and usage. We asked students to indicate how much English and/or Spanish they used in various settings: the home, at school, during recreation, at work and in the environment, i.e.,

shopping, writing letters, etc. We hypothesized that for Mexican-American students the higher the social class, the more use of English there would be in any of these settings. We used Pearson product-moment correlations and set the .05 level of significance as our standard of acceptance. Only two of our correlations, home and environment, were significant. The correlation of use of English and Social Class during recreation and at work was almost zero. (See Table IX)

TABLE IX

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS

AND SELECTED VARIABLES IN A SAMPLE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Use of English		
a) at home	+.28*	.0784
b) at school	+.07*	.0049
c) during recreation	+.05*	.0025
d) in contact with the environment	+.16	.0256
e) at work	+.05	.0025

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

The correlations we did obtain were not overwhelming and certainly one can interpret from this data that Spanish in El Paso is not disappearing with assimilation, if assimilation means entry in to the upper social classes. Our table clearly shows that the three life settings out of five was little social class differences in the use of language by our Mexican-American students. In other words, Mexican-American students tended to use equal amounts of Spanish or English in certain life settings regardless of social class. In general we can conclude that if upper class status

represents assimilation, it does not represent non-use of Spanish language in our community. However, in this regard undoubtedly the closeness of the border is a factor in strengthening Spanish language maintainance.

Perhaps another reason for the wide use of Spanish by all social classes in our sample is because, social class is not related to number of generations in the United States. We had hypothesized that most upper class Mexican-American students would have fathers who were born in the United States whil lower class members of this classification would have fathers who were born in Mexico Table IX indicates that this is not so. While higher percentages of upper class Mexican-American student fathers were born in the U.S., the differences were not statistically significant. Thus either upper SES nor usage of a foreign language appears to be closely related to birth in the United States.

TABLE X-

PERCENTAGE SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBTUION OF A SAMPLE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS AT UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO- BY BIRTHPLACE OF FATHER

Social Class	Birthplace	
	United States	Mexico
Lower-lower	21%	29%
Upper-lower	36%	38%
Lower-middle	28%	27%
Upper-middle	13%	4%
Lower-upper	1%	4%

p _.1251 Mann Whitney U Test

How do social class differences among Mexican-American students affect loyalty to Spanish language, loyalty to Mexican-American customs and acknowledged degree of assimilation problems?

We had hypothesized that all of these would show significant negative correlations. That is, with upper social classes there would be less loyalty to Spanish language and Spanish customs and fewer assimilation problems. As a matter of fact this hypothesis did not hold up. Loyalty to Spanish customs showed no social class differences nor did loyalty to Spanish language. Quite to our surprise, we found a positive significant correlation indicating that the higher the social class the higher the degree of assimilation problems. Perhaps a new ethnic pride instilled by the recent Chicano movement may help explain that there is no social class differences in loyalty to Chicano language or customs. Upper class students had more assimilation problems than lower class peers perhaps because they were in more direct competition with Anglo folkways and mores. The lack of social class correlation with loyalty to Spanish language and Spanish customs seems to strengthen our proposition that language usage is not connected strongly to social class and/or assimilation in this geographical area.

TABLE XI

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS AND SELECTED VARIABLES IN A SAMPLE OF MEXICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS

Dependent Variable	Correlation	Amount of Variance Explained in the Dependent Variable
Loyalty to Spanish language	.01*	.0001
Loyalty to Spanish Customs	.03*	.0004
Degree of Assimilation Problems	15	

*Not significant at the .05 level of confidence.

There is an increasingly recognized area of interest in sociolinguistic study concerning attitudinal components of language study. We in our study were tremendously interested in our Subjects' perceptions of Spanish and English skills and of regional language varieties.

It has been found in the literature that self-rating of language tends to correlate highly with reality. An analysis by Goodman and Brooks in an article (1973) on the overall sample of Chicano students finds them to be more "language conscious" than their Anglo peers both in regard to Spanish and English. These workers found in their analysis that 52 percent of Mexican-Americans, or a majority, indicated having made special efforts to improve English as compared with only 39 percent of the Anglos. Readers are referred at this point to Table XII.

TABLE XII

STUDENTS' REPORTED EFFORTS TO IMPROVE ENGLISH

Efforts to Improve English	Anglos No.	%	Mexican-Americans No.	%	Total No.	%
Have made an effort	58	39%	79	52%	137	46%
Have not made an effort	90	61%	73	48%	163	54%
Totals	148	100%	152	100%	300	100%

$p < .05 > .02$ (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

In view of the fact that Chicanos had rated themselves lower than their performance at least in the language sample, it is obvious that they feel less confident in their English language skills than their monolingual peers. This would appear to provide an additional incentive for taking action to upgrade proficiency. Nevertheless, a corollary would also seem to be unfortunate feelings of inadequacy regarding their ability to communicate. This had, of course, been compounded by deeply ingrained feelings of subservience and humility (as protrayed in movie and literary stereotypes). Obviously this must also play a role when Mexican-American youths are found to secure poorer paying jobs in comparison

with Anglo peers.

When it came to Spanish skills, however, a similar picture emerged, with 75 percent of Mexican-Americans reporting efforts to improve in this language, and only 32 percent of Anglos so reporting. Obviously, Spanish for most Anglos does not carry with it the same motivation as does English for Mexican-Americans. (Table XIII)

TABLE XIII

STUDENT'S REPORTED EFFORTS TO IMPROVE SPANISH

Efforts to improve Spanish	Anglos No.		Mexican-Americans No.		Total No.	
Have made an effort	48	32	114	75	162	54
Have not made an effort	100	68	38	25	138	46
Totals	148	100	152	100	300	100

*p $<$.05, $>$.02 (Kolmogorov-Smirnove one-tailed test)
*p.$<$001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

The apparent concern with communication skills in our Chicano subjects is well worth further research along attitudinal lines throughout the Southwest. Particularly it would be relevant to ascertain to what extent English language skills are regarded as a function of success in formal education. We have seen (Table VIII) English-language knowledge in our subsample correlated significantly with successful grades. To what extent this correlation is true for the entire sample and school remains to be discovered.

Endeavoring to ascertain our Subjects' perceptions of the language varieties used in this area, we included several items in the questionnaire for this purpose. Answers are shown in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

Students Evaluation of Types of Spanish Used in the Area

	Anglo		Mexican-American		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Formal, educated	0	0%	7	5%	7	2%
Informal, everyday	46	32%	62	40%	108	37%
Southwest dialect	24	17%	36	24%	60	20%
Border slang	72	51%	48	31%	120	41%
Totals	142	100%	153	100%	295	100%

p .001 _(Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

As the above reveals, the students believed that all four varieties are available in the Southwest. A mere 5 percent of the Chicanos believed that the Spanish heard here was "formal, Educated Style," while no Anglos thought so, with only 2 percent in all holding this view. The most frequent response was "Border Slang" (41 percent) since 51 percent of the Anglos chose this designation and 31 percent of the Mexican-American students agreed with them. The second most popular choice was "Informal, Everyday" chosen by 37 percent of the Whole sample. For this category, nevertheless, Chicanos registered a higher percentage (40 percent) than did the Anglos (32 percent). The remaining students chose Southwest Dialect and again this was favored by more Mexican-American students than Anglo students (24 percent as against 17 percent). Again we found a statistically significant difference between our two groups at the .001 level of confidence.

One may note that the entire subject of Spanish language in the Southwest has suffered terribly from all sorts of over-simplications as well as downright distortion. Pejorative attitudes have prevailed among Mexican-Americans and Anglos alike, in large part

because of the relatively high degree of English interference. Parallels here with the status of Canadian French and such stigmatized varieties as Joual are obviously striking.

Obviously, since even 31 percent of the Mexican-Americans rated Southwest Spanish as "Border Slang", there appears to be a great need for "re-education" of both Chicanos and Anglos as regards language attitudes. By contrast, the 35 percent terming it "Southwest Dialect" and 40 percent "Informal, Everyday" variety were quite realistic. By and large, the attitudes reflected by both groups (particularly the Anglos with 51 percent) typifying it as "Border Slang" would deter rather than facilitate programs and texts intended to utilize Southwest Spanish as a basis for approaching Standard Educated Spanish, as well as to examine it as a legitimate informal language variety.

In this connection certain sections of Mexican-American militant movements go so far as to clamor for the recognition of a "Chicano language" which would, of course, in linguistic terms equate with the Southwest Spanish dialect of variety (a quip among linguistic scholars is that a language is a dialect with an army!)

At any rate, in the liberalized pro-ethnic atmosphere of today when "social dialects" and low-prestige language varieties are acquiring unprecedented prestige, there is a movement to define the nature and role of Southwest Spanish (highly stigmatized until now) in constructive and favorable terms. Thus viewed it can emerge as fulfilling significant functions in the communication network, with a large percentage of the estimated seven million Chicanos employing it in informal domains. In addition, among educators, it is being realized that Southwest Spanish, formerly often forbidden on school premises, can serve as a valuable point of departure for acquiring

another code in the individual's linguistic repertoire, of standard educated or literary Latin American (Mexican) Spanish. An informed and sympathetic view by an internationally known linguist may be found in "Local Standards and Southwest Spanish" by J. Donald Bowen (1972). Here again, in Third World terms, Southwest Spanish, despite the existence of a literary language, approaches the status of a vernacular because it is predominantly employed in informal, oral domains.

Along with this, we attempted to determine the student's own self-evaluation of the varieties of Spanish and English controlled by them. The results of these evaluations are shown in Table XV.

TABLE XV

STUDENTS SELF EVALUATION OF ENGLISH AND SPANISH CAPABILITY

	English				Spanish			
	Anglo		Mex.-Amer.		Anglo		Mex.-Amer.	
	No.*		No.		No.**		No.	
Formal, educated	121	82	112	73	21	14	48	31
Informal, everyday	24	16	41	27	32	22	87	57
Southwest dialect	1	1	0	0	6	4	14	9
Border Slang	0	0	0	0	18	13	3	2
Can not Handle	1	1	0	0	69	47	1	1
Totals	147	100	153	100	146	100	153	100

*Figured without two respondents.
**Figured without three respondents.
p .05 .02 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)
p .001 (Kolmogorov-Smirnov one-tailed test)

Although most students felt they used form, educated style English more Chicanos than Anglos felt their proficiency was of the informal, every style. This, despite the fact already noted, that tested proficiency of the subsample in English was quite high.

Turning now to self-evaluation of the bilinguals, 87 or more than half, claimed "Informal, Everyday" language, 14 or somewhat more than 10 percent, "Southwest Dialect." A surprising 48, or about a third, felt that they could handle "Formal, Educated Style." The latter statistic is all the more surprising, since so few had characterized the general variety of regional Spanish so highly, while the tiny number of three respondents claiming only "Border Slang" is more reassuring than anything. Only one Spanish-surnamed individual disclaimed ability to handle any variety! An important implication here is that lower self-evaluation of both their own lingual skills and the lower status or prestige of the language varieties controlled by them obviously put the Mexican-Americans at an appreciable disadvantage as contrasted with their Anglo counterparts. This must account in part in the latters' poor representation in the field of science, technology, engineering, medicine, business administration as well as such social science areas as sociology, psychology, political science and linguistics. Here again the analogy to Third World Youth seems striking, as long as entrance into the professions remains a key indicator of progress made by a group, with "minorities" struggling to achieve white-collar status.

In addition, our findings, of course, require a great deal more interdisciplinary attention than we have been able to accord thus thus far, as well as replication elsewhere. One of the implications, moreover, that need more consideration is the relationship of the features of our particular sample to both the language situation and to "language policy" in the Southwest, as well as in the United States in general. As suggested in the citation from Ferguson and Dil, although such issues have been taken for granted in the technologically developed Western nations, recent

militancy has demonstrated the error of this attitude.

One needs to re-examine the literature of the subject, largely dealing with the "emergent" nations, for legitimate parallels, including such earlier sources as The Study of the Role of Second Languages in Asia, Africa and Latin America, (Rice, 1962). Of more recent data is, in this connection, Language Problems of Developing Nations (Fishman, Ferguson and Das Gupta, 1968). In their introduction they comment tellingly (p. 10):

> At a time when the major part of the human race is entrapped by such problems, most American linguists continue to be only marginally interested in language development... and most sociologists and political scientists are just becoming aware of language as an aspect of societal and national functioning. At the same time sociolinguistics is still a very fragile flower, cultivated only at a handful of universities and focussed primarily on micro-phenomena at the level of the speech act in face-to-face interaction."

Pedantic though this procedure may seem, it is illuminating to make a few additional comments on the above volume. In his essay "Sociolinguistics and the Language Problems of the Developing Countries", Fishman observes (p. 12):

> "In general, the problems of disadvantaged populations might hopefully be seen in broader perspective if they were considered against the background of coterritorial languages differences more generally and of planned language shift in particular. The long experience of other countries in coping with home-school dialect differences of a major sort (e.g. in England, Germany, Italy) may be illuminating...."

Also germane are the essays by Dankwart A. Rustow in "Language, Modernization and Nationhood--An Attempt at Typology" (pp. 187-206), Heinz Kloss' "Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology" (pp. 69-86), which should be read bearing in mind William A. Stewart's seminal essay "A Sociolinguistic Typology for Describing National Multilingualism" (Fishman, 1968:531-56). Finally Jiří V. Neustupný, in "Aspects of 'Language' Problems and Policy in Developing Societies" (pp. 285-94) urges the need to develop a general theory of "language" problems and "language" policy,

which would attempt systematically to describe the communication patterns of given countries in terms of their effectiveness.

It would definitely be interesting to apply notions like Neustupný's to our Southwest bilingual communication network. Certainly in view of the recurrent clamor for better representation of Spanish in the school and other domains, and in the light of some of our own findings, it would seem that there are definitely some areas of ineffectiveness despite the complementary distribution of the roles of Spanish and English. (A proposal one should mention here also for its related interest the Language Science and National Development Series being published by Stanford University Press).

Other aspects of language and culture in the Southwest as they are reflected in our Sociolinguistic Studies on Southwest Bilingualism are discussed by "team" members Brooks, Goodman, and Renner in the studies mentioned and by Ornstein (1970, 1971a, 1972b, 1972c, 1973a, 1973b, 1973c).

IV. A CORRELATION MATRIX-USES AND APPLICATIONS.

To cope with such a wealth of varying data, we have attempted to develop a correlatio al pattern described in Ornstein's "Relational Bilingualism--A Socio-Educational Approach to Studying Multilingualism Among Mexican-Americans" (1973). In its aspiration for a broader framework in which to view the complex of factors involved in the bilingual status, our "relational" or "correlational" model attempts to relate bilingualism (and its analog biculturalism) within the social contexts in which the individual exists and functions. Evaluations of a bilingual's performance in the language pair and/or varieties controlled by him, no less than his attitudes and loyalties toward the respective languages and cultures (or sub-cultures) as

other variables. This is largely intended to help summarize our findings in one compact chart so that the reader can see at a glance just what is correlated with what, and to maintain some sort of perspective on the mass of detail here presented. We assume that the reader understands that correlations are general indicators of relationships and the strength of these relationships is the square of the correlation discovered. With an N of 151 at the .05 level of confidence ±.159 is an acceptable correlation. However ± .159 explains only .026821 of our variance. Thus correlations are useful devices for indicating where relationships are to be found but are not necessarily indicative that they are powerful and definitive. A further expansion of the matrix into other disciplines might quickly indicate, for example, how political attitudes relate to language proficiency and social class.

In our opinion, nevertheless, it is in particular the educational dimension of bilingualism/biculturalism where the matrix type of approach might legitimately have the greatest application at present. As matters now stand, there exists a large body of research literature on linguistic aspects of bilingualism, another on educational aspects of minority groups and school performance, while psychologists, sociologists and political scientists contribute their own studies on some particular characteristic of an ethnic group. There is an understandable inhibition about treating more than one of these dimensions at one time and in one study. Since it is the educational arena where minority youth can go beyond the disadvantaged status, the school sector appears to offer the best point of interdisciplinary convergence.

In view of current dissatisfaction with middle class norms, it may not be too absurd to suggest that scholars might begin to take into consideration the possibility of differentiated norms or

dimensions for ethnic groups outside the mainstream. This would perhaps mean that in the school sector there would be recourse to a dimension which would evaluate a given ethnic group not against mainstream standards but in the light of their own common cultural experience. Hence our comparison of Chicanos with Anglos might still be carried out, but another dimension would be needed: the comparison of Chicanos with one another. Yet in recent U.S. experience open college admissions and quotas which favor underprivileged minorities have aroused controversy as devices for botaining equality. At this very moment the case of Marco De Funis is before the Supreme Court, because of his rejection, although an honor student, to the University of Washington Law School, despite acceptance of "minorities" with poorer records.

Socio-educational correlates of bilingualism/biculturalism, then, have a vast possible number of implications. However, the need for more ethnic field research for coping with much of the turmoil in American education is highlighted by a group of Mexican-American educators. In a recent manifesto: Adelante: An Emerging Design for Mexican American Education (1972). Dr. Simon González asserts:

> "An educational philosophy for the instruction of Mexican Americans requires concerted attention to the area of research. The paucity of data regarding our ethnic group requires that we increase our demands that institutions of higher learning address themselves to this need and also provide opportunities for Chicano graduate students to gain vitally needed experience by participating as research assistants."

Nevertheless, whether or not this is a function of poorer self-image and imagined or real inferior communication skills, the fact is that Blacks, Mexican Americans, and particularly Indians represent an unduly small proportion of students in our professional schools and workers in middle-class white-collar fields. At our own University, where the situation is relatively favorable, most

We therefore seem to be in the presence of a sort of inconsistency or ambivalence that might well contribute to personality conflicts. While on one hand there is a high degree of loyalty to Spanish language and Mexican-American culture, on the other hand, Chicano culture on the inferior ratings are accorded regional Spanish. This problem needs to be explored much further and deeper than has been possible for us to do here. Particularly, it would be desirable for scholars, especially Mexican-American ones, to probe these ethno-linguistic conflicts, the roles played by them in the formation of attitudes of hostility to mainstream America , among indeed Chicano, militant and separalist movements. Moreover, much like youth in newly emergent Third World nations, Chicanos do not fail to react by comparing their material and financial situation unfavorably with their mainstream counterparts-in this case more privileged or elite Anglos. Our data and charts have attempted to demonstrate such divergences statistically since so many allegations about minorities are based on rhetoric alone. At any rate, although not downgrading local Spanish varieties as much as their Anglo peers, their general tendency was to rate their own lingual skills (in both languages) lower than performances merited.

So many implications appear to emerge in this study, whatever its limitations, that we can do little more than comment on just one as we draw close to the conclusion. What for example, are the psychological and sociological results of the SES differences encountered in the investigation, along with the concomitant lower wages earned by Chicano students? In addition to the lower self-evaluations of language abilities, what other manifestations of poorer self-image may stem among the Chicano Ss from social

class divergences? How do Mexican-American students such as ours, interested in upward mobility really compare with Third World peers, of whatsoever ethnic stock, as long as they are similarly outside the mainstream?

Our Subjects, then, as members of America's second largest foreign language minority, require study beyond our efforts, in which special constructs are involved to relate not only the socio-educational but also socio-political and ecological correlates of the bilingual/bicultural status of this "territorial" minority.

Finally, this rather lengthy paper can be concluded by saying that a great deal of further research is mandatory before the findings in this study can be satisfactorily confirmed. Not only are replicative studies needed which might yield similar results, but also investigations which might corroborate or reject our individual assumptions and conclusions. Our convictions is that the area treated still offers a number of challenging and significant research tasks. Hopefully both our study and future related ones can bring greater knowledge of the intricate web of inter-ethnic relationships, and by the same token, better understanding among humans of one another.

NOTES

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Mexican-Americans are enrolled in the School of Education--to become public school teachers is the traditional first step upward of the minority. Many in Liberal Arts also follow mainly a teaching track.

It is hoped, no less, that further studies will address themselves to this vital problem of poor minority representation in American higher education in general. Pepe Barron and Alfredo de los Santos, Jr. (1974) two distinguished authorities, point out that 95 percent of all Spanish-speaking students who enter college drop out before completing their fourth year. They urge that each institution devise means to counteract this, adding:

> "In order to fulfill the potential of every student in a cultural democracy and preserve the right of every American to remain identified with his or her own ethnic group while learning the necessary skills to compete in the economic life of our society. Engineering schools must give immediate attention to the special needs of Chicanos, Boricuas and others who are linguistically and culturally distinct".

It might be added that one could substitute almost any other professional field, except for public school teaching and nursing, and the above would still hold all too true.

Beyond these points we cannot go in this already voluminous essay, except to reaffirm our conviction that increasing attention to the macrophenomena of bilingualism/biculturalism, whether through a correlational approach or otherwise, appears promising.

As far as studies like the present are concerned, the current clamor for special educational norms for disadvantaged minority groups might, therefore, raise serious doubts and objections to attempted correlations between Mexican-Americans and Anglos. This issue is too broad for us to decide, but it is felt that this hardly invalidates our approach, given the vast spectrum of differences present in any minority group, not excluding the Chicanos.

SOME CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Probably the greatest value of the study as discussed thus far has been the explicit attempt to probe interrelations of language skills and social factors in a broader frame of reference than has usually been the case for sociolinguistic studies.

Two parameters or issues emerge from the research being done by our "team" on Mexican-American bilinguals. One of these, again reminiscent of youth in the emergent lands, is the matter of relative position or prestige of minority dialect speakers, part of whose alienation from the mainstream is due to the stigmatized nature of their language varieties, and their exclusion from higher paying jobs because of inability to communicate in the standard educated model of mainstream groups--in our case, English. We have seen that our sub-sample rated their English capabilities significantly lower than Anglos, even when some of their performance scores would justify a higher self-image. Their evaluation of the kind of Spanish used in this locality as well as their evaluation of the Spanish they personally use is also indicative of a poorer self-image. Although this may be compounded by feelings of inferiority brought about by lower SES position and poorer hourly wages paid to them.

These same students, however, reflect a high degree of loyalty to Spanish language and Chicano customs as well as abundant use of Spanish language in all but formal domains. Contrary to the findings of Grebler, Moore and Guzman (1970), the extent of use of Spanish and loyalty to it is not, in our overall sample, associated with SES. On the contrary, Chicanos of all SES generally reported an abundant amount of Spanish usage, although it is true that higher SES Mexican-American Ss did indicate an extremely great amount of English use at home and in the "environment".

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